

No. C/551/14/90-2P
~~SECRET~~

भारत सरकार
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

ASIA PACIFIC DIVISION

विदेश मंत्रालय
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

नई दिल्ली
NEW DELHI

फाइल नं०
FILE NO. C/551/14/90-2P

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VOLUME

Declassified.

टिपणियां/पत्राचार

NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE

विषय
Subject

Bringing of Ashes of Netaji Subhash
Bose from Japan.

(अरुण कुमार चटर्जी)
(ARUN KUMAR CHATTERJEE)
सहायक सचिव (सी. एन. सी.)
Joint Secretary (C.N.S.)
विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली
Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

पिछले हवाले
Previous Reference

No. C/551/13/81 - JP Vol I & II

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Total 39

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Later Reference

No. C/551/7/92 - JP

(Disappearance of Netaji)

No. C/551/12/93 - JP

Keep 28/12/15



4751-25(40/90) ①

Phone : 343967

अखिल भारतीय स्वतंत्रता सेनानी संगठन

ALL INDIA FREEDOM FIGHTERS' ORGANISATION

7, JANTAR MANTAR ROAD NEW DELHI-110001

Ref. No. AIFFO No. 1578

Dated 4-8-90 198

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 A.P. Sunder Rajan, INA, Tamilnadu
 Sunderlal Jain, Maharashtra

Dear Shri I.K.Gujral,

Jai Hind. A deputation of Freedom Fighters including ex-I.N.A. Officers waited on the Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh on 2nd July, 1990 and requested him to arrange to bring the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Japan to India or allow the A.I. Freedom Fighters Organisation to bring the ashes. The P.M. replied that the Government of India will bring the ashes.

2. I am to add that the sacred ashes of Netaji were kept and worshipped by the old priest of Renkoji Temple, Tokyo, for the last 45 years. The Old priest died last year. His successor son wishes to dismantle the temple and wants to convert it into commercial complex.

3. A few I.N.A. Officers and old associates of Netaji have been invited to Japan to attend the ~~last~~ 46th Death Anniversary function in Tokyo on 18th Aug: 90 and they say perhaps it would be the last function of its kind. I am one of the invitees.

4. I am writing this to say ~~either~~ that either you ask Indian Embassy in Tokyo to keep and maintain the ashes in Embassy premises till the Government of India make suitable arrangements to bring the ashes to India or allow All India Freedom Fighters Organisation New Delhi to bring the ashes and keep them in Netaji Memorial at Moirang in Manipur. Please note that the invitee Netaji's Associates and I.N.A. Officers are leaving for Tokyo on 15th Aug: 90.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Sheel Bhadra Yajee
 (Sheel Bhadra Yajee)
 Ex-M.P.

Working President,
 A.I.F.F.O., New Delhi-1.

Shri I.K.Gujral,
 Minister of External Affairs,
 Government of India,
 New Delhi.

DS(EA)

JS(EA) or

DS(EA)

24/8

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SECRET

Ministry of External Affairs

(East Asia Division)

Reference PMO UO Numbers dated 5th and 14th June as well as subsequent reminder dated 19th July, 1990 on the matter of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose.

2. The communication from Prof. Samar Guha including a letter written by him to Mr. Gorbachev in November 1988 was referred to our Embassy in Moscow who have made a demarche with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as the South Asia Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Office in the matter. The Soviets have confirmed that the documents sent earlier by Shri Samar Guha were in the possession of the Soviet Government and they were making enquiries in the matter.

3. In the circumstances, it would be apparent that no further developments in the matter have taken place.

4. The comments of the East Asia Division already sent in our earlier communications on the question of the ashes of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose, are perhaps already with PMO. A copy of a background brief in this regard is placed below.

(V.K. Nambiar)
Joint Secretary(EA)
8/8/1990

DIRECTOR(MS), PMO

496/DS(EA)/90
196/US(EA)/90
9/8/90

q/c
DS(EA)
US(EA)
C.A.W.
Yardley

~~SECRET~~

3

SMT. PRIMROSE R. SAHRMA
DIRECTOR(JKM)

No. C/551/14/90-JP

April 29, 1991.

Dear

The Ministry of Home Affairs had prepared a note for the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs on the dispute regarding the Ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and the controversy as to whether Netaji is dead or still alive. The note incorporated the views of the Ministry of External Affairs.

2. We have been informed by the MHA that the CCPA met on 27-2-91 and examined the issue. It also approved the proposal contained in para 11 of the note thereof. An extract of the note which we have just received is enclosed for your information please.

Yours sincerely,

Primrose R. Sharma

(PRIMROSE R. SHARMA)

Encl: As above

Shri Shivshankar Menon,
Deputy Chief of Mission,
Embassy of India,
TOKYO.

जारी किया
ISSUED
3/5/91

L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH

Fax NO.—0385—22936, Imphal.
Tele.— PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL.

Phone { 20147 (o)
21494 (o)
21538 (o)
20471 (R)

REGD. WITH A/D

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS, IMPHAL,
MANIPUR, INDIA;

Imphal May 11, 1991.

To
The Secretary (E & ER)
Ministry of External Affairs,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

3815/ERD/ai
23/5

Subject:- Remains of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose at Renkoji Temple in Tokyo, Japan - bringing back of it to India.

- (i) Reference Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao, Minister of External Affairs letter No. 1665 - EAM/84 dated June 21, 1984.
- (ii) Reference Shri A. B. Gokhale Secretary (E & ER) letter No. C/551/13/81- JP September 27, 1988. (Xerox copies are enclosed herewith for easy reference).

Sir,

1. I have been to Japan again from 23 April to 30 April 1991 to do more research about the dead of Netaji at taipei on 18 August 1945.

2. There are two groups of Japanese war Vetarens (1) one group is very much love of India and Netaji. They want real friendship between India and Japan. They are members of HIKARI-KIKAN of Japan Army, members of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose Academy and members of 33 gun yumi group. (2) Another group is called Indo-Burma war area Vetarens. Association led by Mr. Nishida, Mr. Kameyama, Mr. Minagawa, Mr. Kotani so on. According to them, they are not connected with the activities of INA and Netaji. They expressed their desire to construct a memorial for their deads in Manipur and wanted to form a committee on their choice to maintain their memorial. (I don't want it).

3. The first group who are responsible for maintaining remains of Netaji at Renkoji Temple at Tokyo are giving continued co-operation and assistance on my research. They also want to construct a memorial for the deads of INA and Japanese soldiers jointly which will be maintained by the Indian Government or State Government or a committee appointed by the Government.

4. On my attempt to bring the remains of Netaji from Japan to India to fullfil the wishes of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Government of India, (those days) one Shri V.L. Talekar, Convenor NSCBRF, Jaipur, threatened me for prosecution under contempt of court Act by quoting a Rajasthan High Court Judgement dated 18.1.1986 on S B Civil writ No. 902 of 1984 Nandlal Sharma Vs Union of India, I have done research in U K and Japan, contacted Taipei, Germany and USSR to find out the truth of the dead of Netaji at Taipei on 18 August 1945.

5. The dead of Netaji at Taipei on 18.8.1945 is confirmed. However to clear all doubts, some one is to do research at SSSR 125319, Moskva, ul CHERNYAKHOSKAYA 2, Memorial, USSR as suggested by Mr. Elke Wijithapala, Department of County Work AI, Bonn -1, Germany.

Cont.....2.

L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH

FAX NO.—0385—22936, Imphal.

Tele.— PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL.

Phone { 20147 (o)
21494 (o)
21538 (o)
20471 (R)

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS, IMPHAL,
MANIPUR, INDIA;

(2)

They wrote me that "my effort will be successful in the end".

6. Meanwhile, four members of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose Academy, Tokyo, Japan namely Captain Kameko, Captain Fujii, Lt. Iuraka, Sergeant Hayashi (all are associates of INA and Netaji during II World war—HIKARI -KIKAN Division) went to Taipei (from 16 to 22 March 1991) for research and to find out eye witnesses about the Plane Crash and dead of Netaji there. They have found one eye witness, his name is Mr. U. Su. Hin. They recorded his statement and took photographs of old Airport, Hospital etc. according to Mr. Shigemoto Okuda, associate of Netaji who is still singing INA song, now President of Japan Air Service Co. Ltd. Tokyo (two Indian Commission on Netaji did not go to Taipei).

7. I have brought some documents from Mr. Tatsue Hayashida (who carried the ashes of Netaji from Taipei to Renkoji Temple along with Col. Habib-ur-Rahman), Dr. Tameyoshi Yoshimi (who treated Netaji after Plane Crash and issued dead certificate) some photographs of 1943, Japanese Newspapers cutting of August 1945 publishing dead of Netaji, Report from London etc.

8. If the Rajasthan High Court Order/ Judgement 18.1.1986 on Civil Writ No. 902 of 1984 Nandalal Sharma Vs Union of India directing to the Government of India to enquire afresh into the disappearance of Netaji is still stands, kindly consider to set up an inquiry commission consisting of 3 members to be headed by a Supreme Court Judge to close this matter once for all.

9. I have got enough evidence to prove that the ashes in the Renkoji Temple is the ashes of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose.

10. I am ready to volunteer as member of the Committee/Commission. I am also President of Civil Liberties and Human Rights Organisation (CLAHRO), Government Registered No. 5004 of 1983 under Act XXI of 1860.

11. As desired by the Ambassador of India in Japan, Mr. Shigemoto Okuda, member of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose Academy, Japan (who was staff member of Hikari-Kikan of Japanese Army and associate of Netaji during II World War) has submitted a list of comrades connected with Netaji. (Xerox Copy is enclosed herewith for easy reference).

12. The ages of all associates of Netaji in Japan are between 70's and 80's, if they die, there will be nobody to take care of the ashes of Netaji which is keeping inside a Golden Casket at Renkoji. People who enjoy the fruits of freedom may forget him. I think, it is the duty of every Indian to remember him and respect him.

13. An early comment on this proposal will be highly appreciated.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully

(L. Joychandra Singh)



6

विदेश मंत्री
भारत

MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

(A)

No. 1665-EAM/84

New Delhi
June 21, 1984

Dear Shri Joychandra Singh,

Please refer to your letter of 23rd May 1984, addressed to the Prime Minister, suggesting that the remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose should be brought to India from the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo where they are at present.

As your letter itself suggests, you are aware of the controversy surrounding this question, including the serious reservations expressed by some members of Netaji's family. This controversy has figured in our media from time to time and also in the Parliament.

I need hardly state that we all hold Netaji in very high esteem. But, at the same time we would be reluctant to do anything which might only add to the controversy surrounding Netaji's remains. Your letter gives the impression of possible rethinking on the part of some members of the Netaji family on this question. It would be better if those members of the Netaji family who have been opposed to this idea in the past were to formally communicate their views to us, particularly if they think differently now.

I fully agree with you that there should be a national consensus on this question before the Government takes a formal decision so that a controversy in any form is avoided at a later stage. Any efforts on your part towards this end would be most welcome.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.V. Narasimha Rao
(P.V. Narasimha Rao)

Shri L. Joychandra Singh
Prajatantra Buildings
Imphal
(Manipur)



सचिव
विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली
SECRETARY
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI

7

No. C/551/13/81-JP

September 27, 1988

(B)

Dear Shri Joychandra Singh

I have for reference your letter dated August 26, 1988 addressed to the Minister of External Affairs.

In this connection I may recall Minister of External Affairs' earlier communication to you that notwithstanding the very high esteem in which we all hold Netaji, we would be reluctant to do anything which might only add to the controversy about Netaji's remains. It would be best for a national consensus to emerge before the Government takes a formal decision in the matter. We would of course be happy to receive from you from time to time information on developments in this regard.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely,

A.B. Gokhale

(A.B. Gokhale)

Shri L. Joychandra
Prajatantra
Imphal.
(Manipur)

(C) 8

LIST OF COMRADES CONNECTED WITH NETAJI
SUBHAS BOSE DURING THE WORLD WAR 2ND IN
BURMA & INDIA FRONT, AS HIKARI-KIKAN STAFF

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. Mr Chikaro Fujii | 2-28-806, Shimo-Miyabicho, Shinjyukuku
Tokyo 162 Tel:3267-8807 |
| 2. Mr Noboru Kaneko | 1-2-50, Minami, Wako-shi, Saitama-ken
351 Tel:0484-63-2904 |
| 3. Mr Gaku Kuwabara | 2-29-12, Shirayuri, Izumi-ku
Kanagawa-ken 245 Tel:045-811-2567 |
| 4. Dr Shigeru Aoyagi | 1-6-13, Naka-machi, Meguro-ku
Tokyo 153 Tel:3712-7955 |
| 5. Mr Tadao Iwahara | 5-C-Nakamine-Mansion, 5-1-27, Akasaka
Minato-ku, Tokyo 107 |
| 6. Mr Yoshikichi Ishikawa | 1101-Central-Height, 2-8, Azabu-Jyuban
Minato-ku, Tokyo 105 Tel:3454-3890 |
| 7. Mr Katsumi Murata | 3-11-6-1101, Takashimadaira, Itabashi-ku
Tokyo 195 Tel:3939-0609 |
| 8. Mr Tatsuo Izumi | 2886-13, Yayoi-cho, Tokorozawa-shi
Saitama-ken 359 Tel:0429-24-2179 |
| 9. Mr Masao Hayashi | 3000, Noborito, Tama-ku, Kawasaki-shi
Kanagawa-ken 214 Tel:044-900-0103 |
| 10. Mr Shigemoto Okuda | 2-21-25, Nishi-Azabu, Minatoku
Tokyo 106 Tel:3407-1748 |

Remark: Above comrades are who lives in and around Tokyo.

.....

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 11. Mr Yasufumi Mochizuki | Renkoji, 3-30-20, Wada, Suginami-ku
Tokyo 166 Tel:3311-7832 |
|---------------------------|--|

Remark: Chief-Priest, Renkoji-temple.

.....

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 12. Mr Gintaro Miyake | 3-18, Daiman-cho, Meito-ku, Nagoya-shi
Aichi-ken 465 Tel:052-703-0248 |
| 13. Mr Ichijo Kunizuka | 2-1-19, Sumiyoshi-Higashimachi,
Higashinada-ku, Kobe-shi, Hyogo-ken
658 Tel:078-851-3844 |
| 14. Mr Takashi Kobayashi | 14, Kangakuin-cho, Nakakyo-ku, Kyoto-shi
Kyoto-fu 604 Tel:075-841-2753 |

Remark: Above comrades are who lives outside of Tokyo.

.....

Prepared by: Shigemoto Okuda

Tel: Office-3216-6170 / Res-3407-1748

Fax: Office-3216-6173 / Res-3486-8327

*Mr Nagishi, (written after attached to the list)
from Japan (Ago)*

L JOYCHANDRA SINGH

Fax NO.— 0385—22936, Prajatantra Imphal
Tele— PRAJATANTRA, IMPHAL

Phone

20147 [O]
21494 [O]
21538 [O]
20471 [R]

PRAJATANTRA BUILDINGS
MANIPUR, INDIA,

REGD. WITH A/D Imphal May 12, 1991.

To

The Secretary (E & ER)
Ministry of External Affairs,
Government of India,
South Block,
New Delhi - 1.

Subject:- Remains of Netaji at Renkoji Temple in
Tokyo - Record and witness to Netaji-
published and recorded by Subash Chandra
Bose Academy in Japan.

Sir,

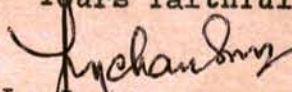
This is in continuation of my letter dated May 11, 1991.
Kindly refer para 6 of my letter. The recent findings by the four
members committee of Subash Chandra Bose Academy of Japan who went
to Taipei from 16 to 22 March 1991 to inquire into the circumstances
leading to the dead of Netaji on 18.8.1945 is not included in this
book of "Record and witness to Netaji" as it was published in 1990.

The goal to prove the dead of Netaji is now very near.
I will try my level best to collect all records as encouraged by the
Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Secretary of Ministry
of External Affairs.

Grateful, if you kindly look into to my suggestion under
para No. 8 and 10 of my letter dated May 11, 1991.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully


(L. Joychandra Singh)

Enclo: A book on Record
and witness to Netaji
by Subash Chandra Bose
Academy of Japan.

10

SECRET

Arvind Gupta
DS (Soviet Union)

No.WI/411/5/90-EE

12 April 1991

Dear Minister,

..... This is with reference to your letter no.MOS/POL/125/190 of 21st December 1990. I am enclosing herewith for ~~records~~ records the following.:

- i) A note recorded in the Division titled "Did Subhash Chandra Bose go to the Soviet Union during or after the Second World War?".
- ii) Article in two parts in December 1990 and January 1991 issues of Soviet Land by Prof. A. Raikov.
- iii) Dwijendra Nandi, "Netaji's Great Escapade: A Puzzling Aspect", Onlooker, April 15, 1991.

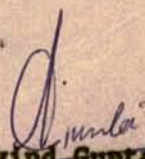
Yours sincerely,

(Arvind Gupta)

Shri R.L. Narayan
Minister (Political),
Embassy of India,
Moscow.

✓
Copy to Smt. Primrose Sharma, Dir (JKN), MEA, New Delhi.

This is for your records


(Arvind Gupta)
DS (Soviet Union)

(11)

SECRET

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
(EUROPE EAST DIVISION)

DID SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE GO TO THE SOVIET UNION
DURING OR AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR ?

In India, there is a school of opinion, particularly amongst Netaji's supporters that Netaji did not die in the plane crash on August 17, 1945 and that he actually escaped to USSR where he lived for many years. Similarly, it is widely believed that Netaji transited through USSR in March 1941 on way to Berlin from Kabul. Government of India has been asked time and again by prominent Indian personalities to seek the help of the Soviets in clarifying with the help of their archives about Netaji's possible sojourn in the Soviet Union during and after the II Second War. Questions have been raised in the Parliament time-and-again on this issue.

PROFESSOR SAMAR GUHA'S LETTERS

On 12th May 1990, Prof. Samar Guha wrote to the then External Affairs Minister Shri Gujral expressing his belief that the top secret classified documents on the reports of air crash at Taipei on 17th August 1945 in which Netaji allegedly died are lying in the archives of governments of USSR, UK, Japan and USA. He requested Government's help to clarify the mystery of Netaji's death. He also made a fervent appeal to Gorbachev in a letter dated 5th November 1988 asking him to "reveal all facts" about Netaji's presence in USSR supposedly till 1961. The reasons for his belief that Netaji escaped to Soviet Union were broadly as follows.:

- i) A secret report sent to the British Viceroy in India by British intelligence allegedly stated that Nehru had received a letter from Bose that he was in Russia.
- ii) Another secret report of the British Government allegedly said that the Russian Ambassador in Kabul had informed the Governor of the Afghan province Khost that Bose was among many Congress refugees then in Moscow. Further, the Russian Vice-Consul General in Teheran, Mr. Marodoff disclosed in 1946 that Bose was in Russia.
- iii) One B.A. Zerobin, a German Jew who was the Deputy Chief of a machine-building plant at Gorlovka near Donetsk apparently had known Netaji from his days in Germany and met him in a concentration camp in Soviet Union and had a brief conversation with him.

Prof. Samar Guha wanted Gorbachev to investigate into these. No reply was received from Gorbachev.

Earlier, in November 1973, Prof. Samar Guha had also submitted a letter to Brezhnev during his visit to India seeking information about Netaji's presence in Russia. No reply was received.

YURLOVA'S REMARKS ABOUT NETAJI

The entire issue was re-opened in 1990 by Prof. Samar Guha in a reaction to reported remarks of Dr. E.S. Yurlova of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies made on 4th March 1990 in Calcutta to the effect that the Soviet Government possessed top secret documents on Subhash Chandra Bose.

DEMARCHE TO THE SOVIET FOREIGN OFFICE

In June 1990, our Mission in Moscow addressed a note verbale

to the Soviet Foreign Office regarding documents on Subhash Chandra Bose supposedly in the custody of the Soviet Government. The Soviet Foreign Office handed over some documents to our Mission.

THE DOCUMENTS FROM THE SOVIET ARCHIVES

The gist of the Soviet documents pertaining to Netaji and handed over to our Mission is as follows.:

DOCUMENT No.1 - BIOGRAPHY DATED 5.2.1941 BY GULYAEV KOZLOV

In this biographical article Kozlov mentions that Netaji made two attempts in 1940 and 1941 to go to the Soviet Union. "In the autumn of 1940 Bose approached Achar Singh with the request to organise entry into USSR and for this he gave him 200 rupees but he could not succeed to cross over as on the eve of the appointed day of departure he was arrested. Also known is a second attempt by Bose to establish contacts with USSR. Shankar Lal who requested in 1940 permission to go USSR was one of the close aides of Bose who undoubtedly went to USSR on latter's request.

Bose also explained to Achar Singh his intentions to go to USSR to request Comrade Stalin for weapons and support in his struggle of Indian people against British imperialism".

DOCUMENT No.2 - RECORD OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE IN AFGHANISTAN, V.S. KOZLOV AND THE SECRETARY OF THE GERMAN MISSION, SCHMIDT ON 15th MARCH 1941

This document throws some light on Netaji's transit through USSR. Schmidt told Kozlov that Netaji would be used by Germans for propaganda against the British domination in India. It is interesting that Schmidt came to the Soviet Embassy "to obtain a visa for an Italian citizen Orlando Mazotta". Orlando Mazotta was the name under which Netaji left Kabul for Berlin via Moscow on March 18, 1941. Thus the document confirms that Netaji did obtain a visa under a fake name to travel through USSR.

(That Netaji left Kabul for USSR in March 1941 and spent a night in Moscow before flying to Berlin is mentioned in many Soviet articles. Prof. A. Raikov in his article "Subhash Chandra Bose' Escape in January 1941" in Soviet Land, December 1990 writes that "Bose officially crossed the Soviet border and arrived in Moscow by rail" after leaving Kabul in March 1941. He also mentions that it was the Germans who arranged with the Soviets for Netaji's travel to Berlin via USSR. The German Ambassador in Moscow in a telegram to Berlin on March 3 said: "The Commissar for Foreign Affairs has informed that the Soviet Government is ready to give a visa to Bose to go to Germany through Russia", writes Raikov.)

DOCUMENT No.3 - BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE (UNDATED) BY Yu. AMIANTOV AND R. PARADIZOVA OF CENTRAL PARTYARCHIVES OF THE INSTITUTE OF MARXISM-LENINISM UNDER CC, CPSU

The document inter-alia says "according to information filed by the Reuter correspondent in Delhi on 11th October 1946, Bose died in August 1945 in a plane crash going from Singapore to Tokyo". Thus, the Soviets accepted the reports about Netaji's death in a plane crash but were careful to cite foreign sources. It is interesting that in this biographical sketch no mention is made unlike in Document No.1 of Netaji's attempts to go to USSR in 1940 and 1941.

DOCUMENT No.4 - THE REVIEW OF INDIAN PRESS OF 23rd FEBRUARY PREPARED BY THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN AFGHANISTAN ON 1 MARCH 1941

It refers to Gandhi-Bose differences and Netaji's proposal to Gandhi to form a united front with the participation of Forward Bloc in Gandhiji's campaign for satyagraha. There is

also a reference to the sudden disappearance of Netaji from Calcutta in January 1941.

DOCUMENT No.5 - EXTRACTS FROM A BOOK TITLED SOCIAL IDEA OF INDIA: PAST AND PRESENT BROUGHT OUT BY THE CENTRAL SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY OF THE SOVIET FOREIGN OFFICE

The document confirms that at the last moment, Netaji got transit visa and passport in the name of Orlando Mazzotta and he succeeded in going to Berlin from Kabul. This document leans heavily on the book by Bhagat Ram Talwar titled The Talwars of Pathanland Subhash Chandra's Great Escapes (New Delhi, 1976). (Bhagat Ram Talwar was one of Netaji's associates who arranged for his stay in Kabul.)

Prof. Raikov in the second part of his article on Netaji published in Soviet Land in January 1991 mentions that after the war Netaji was planning to contact the Soviet command in Mukden and that the plane which was carrying him was to touch down there. Prof. Raikov mentions the "legend" persisting in India that Netaji actually crossed over to USSR but offers no helpful comment on its veracity.

The Soviet documents given to our Mission do not shed additional light on Netaji's stay in USSR in March 1941 on his way to Berlin. In these documents the fact of Netaji's death in a plane crash in August 1945 is accepted. However, it seems probable that Soviets may have more information on Netaji considering that Soviets acknowledge that even when Germany attacked USSR, Netaji remained supportive of USSR. The Soviets would have carefully followed Netaji's activities.

9.4.1991

Subhas Chandra Bose's Escape in January 1941

By Prof. A. RAIKOV



II

ON January 27, 1941, the *Hindustan Standard* reported that Subhas Chandra Bose had suddenly disappeared. The sensational news shocked the whole of Calcutta and India. Kept under house arrest, Bose was to have appeared before the British colonial court shortly to answer the charges of having indulged in anti-British activity. But when two policemen arrived at his home on Elgin Road in Calcutta, they were unable to find him. Crowds of curious onlookers gathered in front of his house hoping to hear some details. On January 28 all Calcutta newspapers carried banner headlines on Bose's mysterious disappearance.

It turned out that in the last few days Bose had not kept in touch even with his relatives. He had shut himself up in his study and was growing a beard. The British authorities took unprecedented measures to recapture him, ordering the police and the intelligence service to establish tight vigil at seaports, airfields, and railroad stations. But in actual fact Bose had escaped as early as the night of January 16-17 and by that time was beyond the British police's reach in Afghanistan. Then he appeared in Berlin, spending about 24 months in Germany and leaving in February 1943.

What could have brought the Indian national leader to the capital of Nazi Germany, that had unleashed a global massacre and become evil incarnate to mankind? Had Bose intended to go to Berlin from the very beginning?

During the war the Allied Powers' press accused Subhas Chandra Bose of having sympathies for Nazism. What was his real attitude towards Nazism and Nazi Germany? In the 1930s Bose repeatedly visited Germany and other European countries, met many political and public figures, gave interviews, and wrote for the press; there is, therefore, plenty of written material to enable us to throw some light on this issue.

Subhas Chandra Bose's attitude towards Nazism was not permanent and unequivocal. He did not understand its class essence and at first hoped that "the new German nation, that has risen to understand its national might, will instinctively sympathise with the other nations endeavouring in the same direction". Bose's approach to Nazism was solely determined by his attitude towards the colonial peoples' national-liberation struggle, but very soon he realised that Nazism was the sworn enemy of the national-liberation movement in India and throughout the world.

At that time Subhas Chandra Bose was on friendly terms with the Kurti family which lived in Germany. "I was also glad to note his deep contempt for the Nazis, a feeling which he did not attempt to hide from us," recalled K. Kurti. In one of his letters to the Kurtis, Bose wrote that, in his view, the atmosphere in Germany was "suffocating". Bose condemned suppression of freedom, and the anti-Semitic sentiments in Nazi Germany. He found Hitler's anti-Semitic statements in *Mein Kampf* deeply offensive. "We cannot brook any insult from any other nation or any attack on our race or culture," Bose wrote to the well-known German Indologist, Dr. F. Tierfelder.

In short, Subhas Chandra Bose did not at all sympathise with Nazism and its ideology. At the same time, he considered Britain not only an oppressor and enemy of India but a "great obstacle to human development in general". But Bose did not realise that Nazism had already become the shock force of world imperialism and, hence, the main enemy of world progress. Germany attracted him to a certain extent as Britain's enemy.

When World War II broke out, Subhas Chandra Bose was going to use the then prevailing international situation in the interests of India. He took into account the fact that the USSR was not involved in the war till mid-1941, that it had always stood by the national-liberation movement, and that Soviet-British relations had been unfriendly since the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact and the beginning of the Soviet-Finnish war.

Numerous memoirs published to date show that Subhas Chandra Bose wanted to leave for the USSR to secure its support in some form or other for the Indian freedom movement. The Communists were the first to be informed of Bose's plans. Thus, Bose met Achchar Singh Cheema in 1940 to discuss his departure for the USSR. The Punjab organisation sent Ram Kishan to Kabul to establish contacts with the Soviet Embassy and then to go to the USSR to arrange for Bose's arrival.

It took Ram Kishan a long time to accomplish his mission. The Soviet Embassy turned him down. Achchar Singh was also later sent to Kabul. At their own risk, he and Ram Kishan decided to penetrate into Soviet territory. Ram Kishan got drowned while crossing the border river, and Achchar Singh encountered Soviet frontier guards, who sent him to Moscow. "My impression was that owing to the international situation prevailing at that time the Soviet Union was very cautious and did not want to embarrass the British," he recalled. Indeed, the two powers began to draw closer to each other in view of the mounting Nazi threat. Stafford Cripps, a Labour left-winger, was appointed British Ambassador to the USSR. Achchar Singh was given no practical promises, but Soviet frontier posts were instructed to grant free access to Bose, who had been informed of Achchar Singh's mission and decided to start carrying out his plan.

Subhas Chandra Bose distracted the police agents' attention and escaped from his house. One cannot say for certain to this day whether the agents were bribed or simply neglected their duties.

He left Calcutta in a car driven by his nephew Sisir Bose. At a small station he took a train to Peshawar. Pretending to be a deaf mute, Bose crossed the Afghan border and arrived in Kabul, accompanied by Bhagat Ram Talwar and several others.

The greatest problem was how to meet Soviet Ambassador Konstantin Mikhailov. The Soviet Embassy's gate was always closed and guarded by Afghan policemen. Subhas Chandra Bose had crossed the border illegally and had no documents with him. Talwar finally managed to stop the Soviet Ambassador's car. This was a dramatic moment that predetermined Bose's destiny. Talwar, who had poor command of Persian, explained to Mikhailov that the man standing at a distance was Bose. "Why should I believe that this is really Subhas Chandra Bose?" asked the Ambassador. "How can I help you without any proof of his identity?" The car drove off and the opportunity was missed.

Why did Mikhailov not find out if the man was really Bose? The USSR's international situation was very complicated in the last pre-war months. Soviet officials abroad had to take extra precautions. Add to this the internal situation

in the USSR. Stalin's pre-war repressions had caused great damage to Soviet diplomacy. Soviet diplomats were deprived of any opportunity to show initiative. Any reckless step threatened the Ambassador with serious consequences in the then atmosphere of spy phobia. Later it became known that, in Mikhailov's view, the "provocation" had been staged by the British, who wanted to set the USSR and Afghanistan at loggerheads; he expressed this view in a conversation with a German residing in Kabul.

After that failure Subhas Chandra Bose had no way out but to apply to the embassies of the Axis Powers. He got in touch with the Italians and met Ambassador Caroni. The Ambassador said that Bose would be delivered to Rome or Berlin. Then Bose was received by German Ambassador Pilger who immediately informed Berlin of his meeting. The Germans acted promptly and resolutely. They saw that Bose was "big game" and hoped for serious diplomatic advantages in case of his arrival in Berlin.

In a telegram to its Ambassador in Moscow, Von Schulenburg, on February 9, the German Foreign Ministry reported that Bose was in Kabul and could be delivered to Berlin. The telegram asked the German Embassy to find out if Moscow would agree to his transit across Soviet territory and if it would instruct its Ambassador in Kabul on this score. "Without attaching special political significance to this case, you should indicate that we view it just as a problem of personal asylum", ran the telegram.

Von Schulenburg was given permission for the travel of Subhas Chandra Bose and he sent a telegram to Berlin on March 3: "The Commissar for Foreign Affairs has informed me that the Soviet government is ready to give a visa for Bose to go to Germany through Russia".

In the meantime, Subhas Chandra Bose was hiding from the British and Afghan police in Kabul. Uttam Chand, an Indian who helped Bose in that difficult period and provided him with shelter, recalled: "Bose was not happy about his forthcoming departure for Berlin or Rome." Even after his meetings with the Ambassadors of the Axis Powers, Bose did not give up his attempts to contact the Soviet Embassy. He asked Uttam Chand to find people who could arrange a meeting with Soviet officials. In a letter to the Soviet Ambassador Bose described in detail his escape from Calcutta and unsuccessful attempt to meet him. He asked a German citizen to turn over the letter to the Soviet Embassy. But the German Embassy did not want to lose sight of Bose and returned the letter to him.

Asked by Uttam Chand why he was so eager to go to Moscow, Subhas Chandra Bose said: "The Russians and the Germans have just concluded a non-aggression pact. Germany is at war with Britain. Russia is an enemy of Britain. This is the time to go to Moscow and campaign for India's freedom." (Uttam Chand reproduced Bose's answer from his memory.) When Uttam Chand asked Bose if he was sure that the Soviets would allow him to engage in anti-British propaganda, he observed: "It may be that the friendship between Russia and Germany does not last long and they might go to war. But the political situation today is changing so fast that we do not know what may happen in the next 24 hours.... Even if there is an undercurrent of hostility between Germany and Russia, the British, too, are no friends of Russia. I am sure the Russians will help me."

Uttam Chand testified that Subhas Chandra Bose did not want to confine himself to propaganda activities. He was going to ask Moscow for practical assistance. "I want to persuade the Russians to help us," he pointed out. Bose said that if he failed to arrive in Moscow via Kabul, he would do all he could to get there from Berlin or Rome. "Today Russia is the only country which can help to liberate India," stressed Bose. "No other country will help us. That is why I do not want to go anywhere else but Moscow." Uttam Chand noted that Subhas Chandra Bose had not said a good word about the Axis Powers over the 45 days of his contacts with their officials. "He hated them as much as the British," added Uttam Chand.

Subhas Chandra Bose knew that the British police were after him and could at any moment capture him in Kabul. (A British agent interrogated Uttam Chand about two Indian fugitives, though by then it was too late.) But Bose did not abandon the idea of crossing the Soviet border. The route had been coordinated and a guide found to take Bose across the border for 7000 alphas. Bose was to have left Kabul one or two days later. It was then that the Italian Embassy reported that Bose's departure had been arranged. He decided not to take risks, crossing the Soviet border illegally. The Italian Embassy issued him a passport where he was registered as Orlando Mazotta. Accompanied by two Germans and one Italian, Bose officially crossed the Soviet border and arrived in Moscow by rail.

There is no data available as to whether Subhas Chandra Bose made any fresh attempts to get in touch with the Soviet authorities. He crossed the Rubicon and all his subsequent activities were linked only with the Axis Powers. Bose spent only one night in Moscow and the next day flew to Berlin to face his fantastic fate.

(To be continued)

ENERGY FROM A VACUUM?

(Continued from page 42)

From the photograph of a nine-month-old child, Chernetskaya established precisely that he is now 21 years old and described the appearance of his bride, where she lives and what her hobbies are. It turned out that the girl likes to sew, and Chernetskaya described in detail the room where the sewing-machine stands.

Anchorman Viktor Balashov imagined the circuit of a complex acoustic device and pointed out exactly where a malfunction had occurred in it. Many specialists had tried for a long time to find it, but failed. Such examples can be multiplied—we have conducted hundreds of experiments.

You have delivered several reports at the symposium. These reports dealt with psychotronics. The latter carries out the technical simulation of phenomenal human abilities. Have you conducted research in this field too?

At first we became convinced that a human field can influence diverse animate and inanimate objects. Then we began simulating bioenergetic processes with technical facilities, for instance, the generator of the self-generating discharge.

According to our concept, the emission of this generator and that of man have something in common: they emit waves with a longitudinal component, which are supplied with the energy of a physical vacuum.

For instance, persons with extrasensory abilities brought their hands close to another instrument—a fully screened quartz generator and mentally influenced it. Usually it possesses a very high stability and operates at a strict frequency. But here, in spite of the screens, the frequency suddenly changed by an order of magnitude. Then it varied by another order of magnitude, and still then by three orders of magnitude. It was clear that the wave with a longitudinal component penetrates through the screens and alters the structure of the elements of the quartz generator.

Such changes in the frequency were caused by the generator of the self-generating discharge. Like the hands of people with extrasensory abilities, it gives many other effects. For example, it alters the resistance of resistors by more than 10 per cent. It even alters the rate of radioactive beta-disintegration, which seemed to be absolutely stable by five per cent.

The use of our generator in agriculture can be very effective. It seems unbelievable but we succeeded in increasing the rate of the growth of the seeds of wheat and beans and to raise the storage time of vegetables by five to six times.

Today the aura is much spoken about. It is claimed that the aura is seen by people with extrasensory perception around human beings and other living creatures. Can the aura be recorded by instruments? What is its physical meaning?

These envelopes also form around inanimate objects—for instance, a generator of self-generating discharge. We have measured them around people, plants and instruments with the electrometric sensor. Their electric fields had a periodic structure. It seemed that they were pulsating. Such periodicity is not typical either of the static field or the travelling wave. But this phenomenon can be well explained by our concept: living creatures and the generator emit electromagnetic waves with a longitudinal component.

It is worth mentioning that the structure of the envelope around the generator is preserved when it is switched off. This can be explained by the fact that the emitted wave receives energy from the physical vacuum. But the most wonderful thing of all is that it is possible to mentally create the image of a man or a generator in any place, for instance, in the corner of a room, and the instruments will record the envelopes of this phantom. If this image is then mentally blurred, the "envelopes" will vanish—the instruments will not indicate anything. This shows that the human brain can emit waves with a longitudinal component. They impart a definite structure to a physical vacuum or destroy it.

These results seem striking: they confirm the age-old idea of the material nature of all ideas. As the ancient Greeks said, "a thought hovers in the air". You have succeeded in recording these waves instrumentally. Does that mean hallucinations, apparitions, ghosts and even gods are real? Are they the products of the human brain?

Our research makes it possible to find answers to eternal problems of philosophy—about life, death and immortality. But today theories are not the main thing. We have to save our Earth right now, it is seriously ill thanks to irrational human activity. It is necessary, as soon as possible, to start the implementation of vacuum energetics, to save the planet from the threat of destruction as a result of the unbridled exploitation of conventional energy sources.

However, the main thing is to overcome the moral crisis which we have been led into by the stand of the conquerors of nature. We really have conquered ourselves. But the better man understands his opportunities, the greater will be his remorse for the evil he has done to our sick planet and the greater will be the thirst for saving nature and hence humanity.

NETAJI TAKES A LEAP IN THE DARK

By Prof. A. RAIKOV

III

A Japanese double-engine bomber took off from Taipei aerodrome in Taiwan on August 17, 1945. The war was over since the Emperor of Japan had already declared the unconditional surrender of his army. All weapons had been removed from the plane and it was not going on a combat mission. It was carrying several Japanese officers led by Lieutenant-General Shidei. The plane was to make a stop in Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, and then continue on its course to Tokyo.

Besides the group of Japanese, there were two unusual passengers, one of whom was Subhas Chandra Bose, the leader of the Provisional Government of Independent India set up in Singapore in 1943, and the other was his aide-de-camp Habib-ur-Rahman. With them they had two heavy suitcases of jewelry, rings, bracelets and earrings—donations made by Indians living in Malay and Burma to Bose's government to aid its struggle for the liberation of the homeland.

The plane was overloaded and its rundown engines could barely get it off the ground. It had hardly gained the necessary altitude when the propeller broke off and despite the desperate efforts of the pilots, the plane crashed down, broke in two and burst into flames. The pilots and General Shidei were killed outright. Bose was badly burned and died several hours later in a Taipei hospital.

Subhas Chandra Bose, whose death shocked the entire Indian nation, took with him into the grave a mystery that historians have not been able to figure out to this day: Where was he heading? What were his plans? Was the Japanese capital his destination? Many researchers doubt that and advance a hypothesis which says that Bose was going to the Soviet Union.

To answer that question we have to go back a number of years. In early April 1941 Bose was in the capital of Nazi Germany erroneously thinking that he would receive assistance for the cause of the liberation of India from the sworn enemy of the British Empire.

Yet the thought of the Soviet Union as a state that was well-disposed to India never left Bose and, what is more, it made him to take unexpected and even dangerous steps. For instance, on May 3, 1941, that is, several weeks before Germany attacked the USSR, he wrote in his memorandum to the German government: "In any case, the indirect help of Soviet Russia or Turkey is necessary for opening up a channel of communication between Germany, on the one side, and Afghanistan and India, on the other." Apparently, he was aware of the approaching attack on the USSR because the following words (no matter how naive they may seem) showed that he wanted to prevent Germany from attacking the Soviet Union.

"For the success of the task of exterminating British power and influence from the Near and Middle East, it is desirable that the status quo between Germany and Soviet Russia should be maintained."

When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Bose was in Rome. On his return to Berlin in early July he met State Secretary Woermann of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. One can only wonder at Bose, who in the heart of the fascist system dared openly to express his views on the newly-launched war.

"The Soviet Union has been popular in India especially among the intellectuals from whom the leaders are drawn. India believes that the Soviet Union is an anti-imperialist power and hence, India's ally against Britain.... In the German-Russian war the sympathies of the Indian people are clearly on the side of Russia, because they see that Germany is the aggressor and as such it represents an imperialist threat to India. Even if Germany wins complete victory over Russia, it will be difficult to change Indian public opinion on this matter."

In his report on the meeting with Bose, Woermann pointed out with some irritation that Bose was strongly influenced by the Soviet interpretation of the causes of the German-Russian conflict.

When Indian POWs were organised into the Indian Legion on German territory under Bose's leadership, the latter made a clear stipulation that under no circumstances was the legion to be sent to the Soviet-German front.

Very soon Bose understood that no real assistance was to be expected from Nazi Germany. Suffice it to say that Hitler made him wait more than a

year before he gave him an audience, and when he did, Bose was unable to elicit even a simple statement of his recognition of India's right to independence.

In 1943, Bose made a dangerous voyage in a submarine to South-East Asia where he hoped to enlist Japan's aid and the support of the three-million strong Indian community living in the area in the struggle against Britain. The Provisional Government set up by Bose declared war on Britain and the U.S.A., but not on the Soviet Union which was a member of the anti-Hitler coalition.

With time he realised that it was just as hopeless to try to get Japan to assist in the liberation of India as it was to get Germany to do so. As the downfall of the axis drew closer, Bose understood that he had looked for allies in the wrong places. Again and again he returned to his former plan of establishing contact with the Soviet government.

Japanese sources possess especially revealing data on the question. It is from them that we learn that as early as November 1943, when Bose was in Tokyo, he visited Dr. S. Okawa, Professor of Philosophy, and literally shocked him by declaring that he could unite with Russia for the purpose of smashing Britain. Evidently, the idea took definite form after Japan's failure in the Imphal Operation in 1944 in which the units of the Indian National Army created under the leadership of Bose took part. Even before the end of that operation Bose had a talk with Vice-Admiral Chudo, commander of the Japanese fleet in the Burma area, in which he discussed the idea of making an incursion into India from a completely different direction, from Central Asia, that is, from Soviet territory.

Japanese authors tend to present the situation in a way that would show that it was the Japanese who gave Bose the idea of addressing the Soviet government, and promised him all possible support in the matter. For one thing, that is what F. Saito and T. Hayashida write and what is said in the official report of the 4th Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan which was published in 1956. They even mention the names of some high-ranking Japanese army officers who had given Bose such advice.

Bose started to make preparations for this important step in his own way. Of great interest was his speech to the students of Tokyo University in which he devoted much time to the question of India's attitude towards the Soviet Union. Bearing in mind that Japan was the ally of Nazi Germany which was fighting against the USSR and that it was also hatching aggressive plans against the country back in the days of the battle of Stalingrad in 1942, we have to admit that Bose's speech was an expression of defiance.

He said that India was studying the experience of the land of the Soviets with the greatest attention and that it found the methods of accelerated industrialisation most attractive. He also spoke of the successful solution of the problem of ethnic minorities. He told the Japanese students that Rabindranath Tagore had been very much impressed by Soviet Russia's achievements in the development of public education. He put special emphasis on the fact that the Soviet Union had secured the unity of the country. He pointed out that despite "so many different races professing so many different religions, the country was unified in one political system and became such a strong power". Proceeding from this experience he maintained that "there is absolutely no reason why India, which has more homogeneity than the Soviet Union, should not be united as one nation".

It is true that by making several critical remarks Bose softened somewhat the "pro-Soviet character" of his speech. He rejected the idea of class struggle pointing out that since India was an agricultural country, the "problem of peasants" was far more important than the "problem of the working class". He also came out against "the overestimation of the economic factor" so characteristic of Marxism. But on the whole, the tenor of Bose's speech did not chime with the Japanese propaganda of the day. For instance, he never once mentioned Japan's "liberating mission" in Asia and said nothing about "the great East-Asia co-prosperity sphere", the pet theme of Japanese mass media. We can assess Bose's speech as an attempt to attract the attention of the Soviet Embassy and prepare the ground for establishing contact. After all, the press was bound to report on his meeting with the students.

But to establish contact Bose required the cooperation of Japanese officials. He turned to the representatives of the army and navy and insisted

MALCOLM McDOWELL, A REGICIDE FOR \$2,000,000

Malcolm McDowell will star in Karen Shakhnazarov's new film *Regicide* as Yakov Yurovsky who was responsible for the shooting of the royal family. According to well-informed sources, the approximate sum of his fee will be two million dollars.

This film is being made by the Start Studios, Mosfilm, and financed by the British SPEC Group company specialising in the production of computers. Mosfilm has signed an agreement with SPEC on the establishment of a joint venture called SPECFILM.

McDowell said in an interview he had agreed because he liked Alexander Brodysky's script and Karen Shakhnazarov. Below we publish the text of an interview granted by him to our correspondent.

Why do you think Shakhnazarov chose you for this role?

I don't understand this myself. Perhaps he wants an actor with a fresh view of that time.

There is an opinion that the methods of Soviet directors differ from those used in the West. Why have you agreed to take part in a Soviet film?

The American system of film production is very strict. Three minutes of filming per day are worth twenty million. Money determines everything. The Soviet Union has not yet been drawn into this system, and creativity is still possible here.

Are the terms of this contract different from your usual ones?

Popular actors, as a rule, receive a sum with six zeroes. But in this particular case I have agreed because I earned a lot in my previous film and can afford to do something pleasant for a change. I like the script, the director and I like it here.

Does this mean that your impressions about the Soviet Union have surpassed your expectations?

No. The condition of your country and people gives the impression of a steam locomotive without steam. Everything is in disarray and neglected. But the worst thing is that nothing is personified and individuality is in a bog.

The film you are starring in shows a time difficult and unusual for Russia. How do you, a person unfamiliar with Russian problems, see it?

I read books about Russia. Besides, all essential information is within the script. It is very rich and I do not have any difficulties.

In the film you play the part of Yakov Yurovsky, a Jew who shot the last Russian Tsar. The involvement of Jews in the Russian Revolution, which is being closely studied today by the right-wing and makes both right- and left-wingers nervous, is in the public eye. Have you studied this problem?

As an actor I am not concerned with it, though it annoys me much. Your problem does not lie in Jews, Mongols, or Tatars. The thing is that your country is very big and difficult to manage. It has to be divided into small independent states, the way it is done in the USA where California, for example, or other states are independent entities. The time shown in the film—the years 1917 and 1918—is similar to the current situation. Of course, the revolution today is happening not in the physical sense, but in the psychology of people and society.



Malcolm McDowell

that they arrange a meeting between him and the Soviet Ambassador Y. Malik. However, the answer was that only Foreign Minister Shigemitsu could help him. When Bose went to see Shigemitsu, the Foreign Minister was clearly irritated and responded with icy silence to his request. Persistence in achieving his goal was one of Bose's most characteristic traits. Upon returning to his hotel after the talk with Shigemitsu, Bose wrote to the Soviet Ambassador a long letter and sent it by messenger. The Secretary at the Embassy returned the letter unopened because the Soviet Embassy staff knew Bose as a person who cooperated with the axis. Bose burned the letter and its contents remained unknown.

In Shanghai on his way back from Tokyo, Bose met Anand Mohan Sahay, an Indian who had lived for a long time in Japan. Bose asked him to go to Tokyo and try to establish contact with Malik. What he wanted, apparently, was a preliminary talk without any definite message.

After the war, questioned by the members of a special committee appointed by the Indian government to investigate the circumstances of Bose's death, Sahay confirmed the fact that he had tried to fulfil the task entrusted to him by Bose. To begin with, he had tried to clarify Shigemitsu's and the Minister of Internal Affairs Uzawa's doubts regarding the issue, but they told him it was useless to try to contact the Soviet Ambassador. They did not make the least effort to really help Bose in the matter.

The above shows that by 1944 Bose was convinced that the axis would soon be annihilated and was concerned about finding a new base for his activities, believing that the Soviet Union would be most suitable for the purpose. After his return from Tokyo he discussed the problem with his associates many times surmising that the military alliance of the USSR and Britain and the USA was temporary and the day was not far when it would fall apart.

He even voiced the thought that in the next ten years war between the former allies would be inevitable.

In the middle of 1945, after the defeat of Germany and a number of setbacks suffered by the Japanese army in South-East Asia, Bose decided that the time had come to act on his plan and take decisive steps. He went straight to the Japanese government so that it should, in his name, forward to the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo his request to go to the Soviet Union. But the Japanese government did not have the least desire to help him in this matter which was so vital to him. In June he received the following reply: "Nippon Government deems it almost without hope of success to get directly in touch with the Soviet Government on behalf of Your Excellency, and it has no intention of doing so."

The situation changed drastically after the Soviet Union declared war on Japan in August 1945. Japan found itself on the brink of a national catastrophe and the Indian National Army in Burma and Malay was in a dramatic situation. On August 16 Bose, who was in Saigon at the time, appealed once again to the Japanese government saying that he and other members of the Indian Provisional Government would like to go to the Soviet Union. His associates said later that he believed that in the beginning the Soviet side would treat him as a war prisoner, but after a while he would have the opportunity of working in one way or another towards Indian independence. The reply from Tokyo was sharper than in June. It said that it was "dishonest" on the part of Bose to appeal to the Soviet Union after he had enjoyed the support of Japan. The reply was another confirmation of Tokyo's utter indifference to the liberation movement in India.

Nonetheless, he got the Japanese military to cooperate. Field Marshal Terauchi, who was in Saigon at the time, decided to take the risk of helping Bose and gave orders that two Indians should be given seats in a bomber flying out from Bangkok to Japan. The Field Marshal's step may be explained by his desire to do Britain damage and, in parting, drive a wedge between her and the Soviet Union.

It was no accident that the plane carrying Bose was to touch down in Mukden. Obviously, General Shider had an important government mission because according to his interpreter, the general was considered an expert on Russian affairs and "was regarded an important figure in the coming negotiations with Russia." More than that, Bose was to alight in Mukden to carry out his plan of contacting the Soviet command. In his own words it was "a leap in the dark." The disaster cut the leap short.

However, to this day the legend persists in India that Netaji did not die but got to Mukden and was seen, according to one version, in a Siberian prison, or entering the Kremlin, according to another one. Though that is mere hearsay, it reflects one real fact, which is that the Indian liberation movement had always shown a strong tendency towards interaction first with the revolutionary movement in Russia and later the Soviet Union. The tradition found distinct reflection in the life of Subhas Chandra Bose, a man of complex political destiny.

RESEARCH

Netaji's Great Escapade: A Puzzling Aspect

Those were great puzzles.

And they were related to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's utmost and frantic efforts to secure political asylum in the Soviet Union, and from there to launch the final assault on the British Rule in India during the first phase of World War II. For this purpose this great patriot organised his great escapade to Kabul with the help of the Communist Party of India which deputed one of their leading cadres in the North Western Frontier Province, Bhagat Ram Talwar, who escorted Subhas Chandra as a loyal companion and guide from Peshawar to Kabul.

There are two aspects of these puzzles -- one related to the Soviet Union and the other, to the Communist Party of India. And they call for special attention on the basis of their separate and individual character.

Let us take the Soviet aspect first. We divide this aspect into two separate questions for proper consideration, and they are: why Subhas Chandra wanted to seek asylum in the Soviet Union and carry out his plan of liberating India with Soviet help from the British imperialist stranglehold, and why Moscow finally declined Subhas Chandra's request.

Subhas Chandra saw the outbreak of the World War II in September 1939, following the signing of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact by the Foreign Ministers of the two countries, Herr Von Ribbentrop and Vyacheslav Mikhailovitch Molotov, in Moscow on August 23 that year, as an opportunity for



Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

taking advantage to liberate India from the British yoke. Seeing that the country's premier political organisation, the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Gandhiji, was not prepared to utilise this opportunity, he himself decided to take the plunge, following the footprints of earlier revolutionaries who tried to secure German and other external help during World War I for the same purpose, though without effective results for various reasons. Among them were the heroes like Raja Mahendra Pratap,

Maulana Barkatullah, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Abani Mukherji, Dr. Bhupendranath Dutta, Dr. Vishnu Sukhtan, Shyamji Krishna Verma, Pandurang Sadashiva Khankhoje, Vinayak Savarkar, Suren Kar, Sardar Ajit Singh, Lala Hardayal, to mention just a few. In Kabul was set up the Provisional Government of Independent India on December 1, 1915, with Raja Mahendra Pratap as President, Maulana Barkatullah as Prime Minister, Obeidullah Sindhi as Home Minister, Champak Raman Pillai as

RESEARCH

Foreign Minister, Maulana Mohammed Bashir as Defence Minister, etc. Raja Mahendra Pratap was received by the Kaiser himself, and some time after the Soviet Revolution in 1917, Lenin also received the President of the

Provisional Government of Independent India. Further, the names and the roles of "Berlin Committee", "Ghadar Party", etc. are too well-known for repetition here. Shiploads of arms supplies were sent to Indian shores for the use of Indian revolutionaries, but could not reach them due to British surveillance. The glorious fight undertaken by five valiant revolutionaries, led by Jatindranath Mukherjee (respected under the name of Baaghaa Jatin for his heroic anti-British exploits against the police forces headed by the notorious Calcutta Police Commissioner Sir Charles Taggart, Balasore's District Magistrate Mr. Kilvy and the Shore battery Captain Ratherford on the Balasore coast was an instance in this regard.

Despite widespread accusation unleashed by interested quarters against Subhas Chandra as having sympathies for Nazism, he considered Nazism as "the sworn enemy" of the national liberation movement in India and all over the world. His anti-Nazism posture was quite evident in his private and public utterances, including his letters to the Kurti family and others. In the 1930s, during his visit to Germany Subhas Chandra became friendly to this Jewish family (of Kitty and Alex Kurti).

On the other hand he had noted that the Soviet Union since its inception stood for India's independence; further, the Soviet-British relations became "quite unfriendly" since the "Great Betrayal at Munich of September, 1938", more particularly after the German-Soviet Pact of August 1939 as well as

Soviet-Finnish War beginning November, 1939.

Subhas Chandra began planning for his projected Soviet Mission as early as February 1940, and ultimately he left Calcutta in disguise in the night of January 16, 1941. He reached Peshawar on January 19, 1941, and Kabul in the morning of January 27. Then began the efforts to contact the Soviet Embassy, but without much success. However, on February 2, Bhagat Ram Talwar was able to spot and stop the car in which the Soviet Ambassador Konstantin Mikhailov was travelling but that chance meeting also did not produce any desired result.

What options a disappointed Subhas Chandra then left with? Either he could continue to stay



incognito in Kabul or return to India, or go to some other country antagonistic to British Imperialism for asylum, and carry out his plan of liberation war. He chose the last as a "lesser evil". Because the former two options were fraught with dangers of getting apprehended by the British secret service agencies ultimately ending on the gallows for "conspiring to wage a war against the King Emperor". So efforts then began on February 2 itself to contact the German Embassy in Kabul who responded to them. But as the Germans took longer time to get a final word from Berlin so an impatient freedom-fighter Subhas Chandra, apprehending trouble from local intelligence men, did not like to wait any further. Through the good offices of the diplomats in the

German Embassy a contact was established with the Italian Embassy on February 22. At last through Italian arrangement, Subhas Chandra left Kabul, with an Italian passport and a Sicilian name Orlando Mazotta, for Berlin via Moscow on March 18, 1941, after spending 46 days of uncertainty and anxiety in Kabul, and 56 days after he clandestinely left Calcutta.

Now the question, why the Soviets allowed him safe passage to Berlin but did not grant him political asylum to carry out his anti-imperialist programme from Soviet soil? The only answer to this question can be that for its own reasons Moscow did not at that time like to antagonise Britain by allowing Subhas Chandra to use its soil for anti-British activities. At the same time Moscow allowed Subhas Chandra to go to Berlin for implementing his plan, and the Soviet government did not take any antagonistic move against the Indian patriot.

Despite the German Soviet Non Aggression Pact, Moscow was always quite suspicious and apprehensive of Hitler's motivations on the one hand, and consequently on the other was not willing to embarrass the British, no doubt for its national interests. These two aspects of the Soviet policy began to get intensified following widespread rumours about impendency of peace in the context of President Roosevelt's special envoy, Sumner Well's "Mission to Europe" and talks in Rome, Berlin, Paris and London during February-March, 1940. It was quite possible that by that time the Soviet Union was in possession of certain highly secret intelligence regarding the Nazi plan which unfolded itself in a massive armed attack on the entire Soviet-German front on June 22, 1941. And that prior intelligence made the Soviet leadership, for their national interests, to avoid causing

RESEARCH

embarrassment to the British with a view to keeping their own options open for future understanding with Britain in a fight against Nazism. It is no more a secret that within three days of Adolf Hitler's special envoy, Rudolf Hess, descending by parachute in Scotland on May 10, 1941, with a special message from the Nazi Fuehrer to the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, the content of which reached Moscow, thanks to the double agent Kim Philby. In that message Hitler offered Churchill special terms in return for British neutrality or support in Germany's impending invasion of the Soviet Union. This was disclosed by a KGB official Col. Igor Frelin in London on May 11, 1990, while talking to reporters about the Soviet film on Philby. This seems all the more probable if we take into consideration the instructions the Soviet authorities had reportedly given to their border forces after Achhar Singh Cheena smuggled himself into the Soviet territory surreptitiously by crossing the border river Amu Darya in July 1940, for arranging for Subhas Chandra's projected Moscow Mission, and the Soviet government's decision and action in 1941. In this context it will be useful to quote what the Soviet Indologist, Prof. A. Raikov said in his article "Subhas Chandra Bose's Escape in January 1914" published in the December 1990, issue of *Soviet Land*, a Soviet Embassy publication from New Delhi. On page 46, Prof. Raikov said: "Achhar Singh was given no practical promises, but Soviet frontier posts were instructed to grant free access to Bose, who had been informed of Achhar Singh's mission and decided to start carrying out his plan".

As a matter of fact that was the time when Anglo-Soviet relations were becoming closer and comparatively more cordial in view of the

mounting Nazi threat. In a written reply to a question in the British Parliament on July 11, 1940, R. A. Butler, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that the policy of His Majesty's Government "has been and remains" to improve and strengthen relations between Britain and the USSR. He further emphasised: "success of the policy has appeared more likely since March this year, when the USSR made a friendly approach to His Majesty's Government and proposed trade negotiations". Earlier on May 28, 1940, the British Government announced the proposed visit to Moscow of a trade delegation under the leadership of Sir Stafford Cripps. But Moscow declined to receive any trade delegation. However, at the



same time it suggested that trade negotiations could be undertaken through British Ambassador in Moscow, if Sir Stafford was sent as the Ambassador. On June 6, 1940, London announced Sir Stafford's appointment as next British Ambassador in Moscow. Stalin received him in audience on July 1, 1940.

According to Prof. Raikov, Subhas Chandra spent only one night in the Soviet Capital, and the next day he was flown to Berlin.

After staying for about 24 months or so in the capital of the Third Reich, he left for the Baltic naval base of Kiel by train, where he boarded a German submarine to begin his historic 3-month-long underwater journey to the Far East. He reached Singapore on July 2, 1943.

Organisation and strengthening of

the Indian National Army and subsequent proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on October 21, 1943, were startling instances of Subhas Chandra's remarkable organisational ability for the cause of the country's freedom.

In his book, *Talwars of Pathanland and Subhas Chandra's Great Escape* published in June 1976 by the CPI's publishing concern, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, Bhagat Ram Talwar has given a day-to-day account of Subhas Chandra's activities since his arrival in Peshawar on January 19, 1941, till his safe departure for Moscow from Kabul on March 18, 1941. He also described Subhas Chandra's departure scene saying "that it was still dark when the car drove out with Netaji" and adding: "Before that Netaji gave me a vigorous handshake, embraced me very affectionately and told me in the presence of Crishnini, 'You have to put some other comrade to establish contact with the Soviet Embassy'. He almost became sentimental and could not say anything more while parting".

Talwar further recorded in his book the purpose of Subhas Chandra's Moscow Mission in the following words: "Netaji told him (Achhar Singh Cheena), inter alia, that in a situation where: (1) The rightist forces within the Congress had succeeded in dislodging him from the Congress Presidentship; (2) The leftist forces could not be mobilised against the Gandhites on the one hand, and the British, on the other; (3) Netaji was convinced that the British could not be driven out without an armed uprising in India; and as the Second World War had now created a good opportunity for such an uprising, he had decided on a policy of securing armed help from a friendly, anti-imperialist country, viz. the Soviet Union. He also made

RESEARCH

it clear that it was only the Communist Party which could help him in his bid for escape". In the context of his good relations with the Communist Party of India and that Party's relationship with the Soviet Communist Party, the Ruling Party in the Soviet Union, he sought the CPI's support in the matter. It should not be forgotten that an uncompromising fighter for India's freedom as Subhas Chandra was, he noted that it was the small underground CPI that

issued an open appeal to the delegates of the 39th Annual Plenary Session of the Indian National Congress held in Ahmedabad in 1921, demanding the acceptance of complete independence as the goal of the national movement. Left-wing Khilafatist leader, Maulana Hazrat Mohani, who later in 1925 was the chairman of the Reception Committee for the first congress of the Communists held in Kanpore where the CPI was formed, moved the resolution for complete independence as the goal at the Ahmedabad Congress but received only nine votes. A similar resolution was moved by a known early Communist of the country, Maylapuram Singaravelu Chettiar, who presided over the First Congress of the Communists in 1925, at the Gaya Congress in 1922 but with no better result.

However, situation changed for the better in December 1927, when at the 45th Annual Plenary Session of the Indian National Congress held in Madras, a Communist delegate from Bombay K. N. Joglekar, moved a single sentence resolution saying: "This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete national independence" and was adopted with full-throated support from the majority of the delegates including Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, both of whom were inspired by the

deliberations and decisions at the International Congress Against Imperialism held in Brussels from 10-15 February, 1927. In a resolution, the Brussels Congress, they recalled enthusiastically, accorded "its warm support to the Indian National Movement for the complete freedom of India" and expressed the "opinion that the liberation of India from foreign domination and all kinds of exploitation is an essential step in the full emancipation of the peoples of the world." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru represented the Indian National Congress and was the leader of the Indian delegation at the Brussels Congress. It may be noted that this was the first occasion when a resolution supporting India's movement for independence was



adopted by an international conference organised virtually under the aegis of Soviet patronage outside the Soviet territory, though "the flag of Indian independence" was first unfurled on foreign soil by Madame Bhikhaji Rustom Cama on August 22, 1907, at the Second International Socialist Congress held in Stuttgart.

At the time when Independence resolution was passed at the Madras Congress Session, Gandhiji was not present in the *pandal*. Later on his return he heard about its adoption and felt unhappy about it.

Early in 1928, at the initiative of the Communist and Leftist elements, the Independence for India League was set up with former Congress President, S. Srinivas Iyengar as its President and both Subhas Chandra and Jawaharlal as secretaries.

Subhas Chandra also witnessed what significant and solid support the Communists gave at the Calcutta Congress of 1928 against Gandhiji's resolution to dilute the Madras resolution on Independence. Describing this particular aspect of the Calcutta Congress, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, on page 563 of Volume I of his 2-volume *History of the Indian National Congress* (1935 edition) records: "The Calcutta session will be remembered for a demonstration in which labourers numbering over 50,000 men from neighbouring mill areas marched in an orderly fashion and saluted the National Flag hoisted in the Congress grounds, occupied the Pandal for nearly two hours, and passed their resolution deciding for Independence of India and then walked out."

After the return of Subhas Chandra from his European tour in 1936, his relations with the Communists improved further and consequently some leading Communists were made office-bearers of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee of which he was the President. A very close alliance developed among a section of the Congress, CPI, Forward Bloc and other radical elements under the banner of Left Coordination Committee which fully backed Subhas Chandra in his fight against the Gandhi-dominated right-wing in the Congress. Subhas Chandra was unanimously elected Congress President in 1938 for the Haripura session. But in 1939 when he sought re-election, Gandhiji opposed him tooth and nail. Gandhiji set up his own candidate, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya who was defeated by a margin of 203 votes, while out of a total of 3307 delegate voters representing 40 lakh Congress members, only 2957 exercised their franchise, 1580 voting for Subhas Chandra and 1377 for Dr. Sitaramayya. A sulking Gandhiji

RESEARCH

declared: "Pattabhi's defeat is my defeat." The developments that followed this election, and how the Communists stood by Subhas Chandra during this period are quite well-known. It was in this context it is quite understandable why Subhas Chandra sought the help from the Communists for his Moscow Mission and, the Communists gave all the support they could.

In spite of all the close and cooperative relationship of the past so many years, and of the information provided by Talwar on his return from Kabul, a *faux pas* appeared in the relation between the CPI and Subhas Chandra once the latter surfaced in Berlin, and began regular broadcasting in January 1942. The CPI took a diabolically anti-Subhas Chandra posture and the Party's official weekly organ began maligning him with venomous diatribes, week after week, and even called him a "Quisling".

The Party's first open weekly, *National Front*, which earlier announced proudly in its issue of October 16, 1938, that its following issue would carry a "special article" by President Subhas Bose and in its issue of October 23, 1938, carried it on the front page under the caption "Our Needs And Duties", as well as carried a special message from him with the headline "Carry Forward The Heritage Of Struggle" in its issue of February 12, 1939; but in 1942, the same Party organ, though with a changed masthead of *People's War*, began indulging in rabid slander against him. In its issue of September 13, 1942, *People's War* carried a cartoon on its front page showing Dr. Goebbels holding Subhas Chandra in a kitten form by the collar in front of a microphone, while Hitler and Goering were shown watching the performance with broad smiles on their faces. The cartoon has the legend below it: "Subhas Bose: I am bringing

freedom to India!"

On the same page there was a long article by S. G. Sardesai under the bold caption: "Patriots Beware! To Freedom or Japanese Slavery?"

Was this *Volte face* on the part of the CPI based on some firm facts, or just due to misunderstanding because of communication gap, or a result of Allied Powers' and other interested quarters' or elements' carrying on a false propaganda? The *volte face* is more puzzling in the context of the fact that Talwar, on his return from Kabul after Subhas Chandra's safe departure from the Afghan capital for Berlin via Soviet Union, reported to the Party in detail the incidents in Kabul, as claimed in his book. In his book, Talwar further told us that he received the message



in Kabul through Italian sources that Subhas Chandra "had reached an understanding in Berlin that under the present conditions they would render help to one another as equals and whatever help in any shape we get from them would be on reciprocal basis and whatever step we took would be entirely with a view to help achieve independence of our country".

It is high time that a proper review of the entire matter is undertaken with all seriousness and sincerity without any further delay.

It is worth noting that on November 12, 1980, at a meeting at the Ajoy Bhavan, New Delhi, the CPI Headquarters, the then CPI General Secretary C. Rajeswara Rao revealed that in 1941, P. C. Joshi and Dr. G. Adhikari, both were

members of the Party's Politburo, took the decision, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, to help Subhas Chandra to go out of India and Bhagat Ram Talwar was deputed for this purpose. This particular meeting at the Ajoy Bhavan was held to pay homage to the memory of the CPI's former General Secretary, the late P. C. Joshi, and the report of the meeting with Rao's revelation was published in the Party's Hindi daily *Janjug*, (now defunct) of November 13, 1980.

In his article, "Netaji and Indian Communists", the CPI (M) Politburo member and West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu admitted that "...we said certain exaggerated, unfair and wrong things about him", (p. 19 of the book *Netaji And Indian Independence*), a compilation by B. K. Ahluwalia and Shashi Ahluwalia). Basu further pointed out that as a result of "confusion among us", certain events happened (*ibid*, p. 20). Despite these, "It is a curious thing that not even for one day did he (Subhas Chandra) say a word against us and our stand even though he could say much against us. On the contrary, he appealed to Swami Sahajanand by name...", Basu stated (*ibid*, p. 20). The CPI(M) leader was all praise for Subhas Chandra and described him as "a national leader of the first rank." Basu also favoured historical research in regard to Subhas Chandra's contribution to the cause of India's national liberation.

Incidentally, some Soviet and American scholars have already undertaken separately such studies. In this regard, special mention should be made to the work done by the Soviet Indologist, Prof. A. Raikov, and the American scholar and professor of Indian History, Prof. Leonard A. Gordon. January 3, 1991.

Dwijendra Nandi

SANKAR SANYAL

Shri Madhavsingh Solnki
External Affairs

Minister, India, New Delhi - 110 011.

1757 / Dir (EA) 31
5063 JS/EA/91
25/9
PHONE-136
TEMPLE STREET
JALPAIGURI-735101
INDIA

Dear Shri Solanki,

S-1551/SAM/91
23/9

re: "Fake Ashes" of Netaji Subhas and the last letter dated, DECEMBER 08, 1990 of Late Rajib Gandhi in Reply to letter dated, 19 NOVEMBER 1990 alongwith the letter dated, 17 NOVEMBER 1990 with its enclosure the Telecommunication dated, 11 MAY 1990 to V.P. Singh, Prime Minister and to I.K. Guzral, External Affairs Minister, India jointly; and the "Enhancement of Pension" to Freedom Fighters to Rs.1000/- from GOI long over due.

In reference with above enclosed herewith, please find, copies of letter of Late Shri Rajib Gandhi, erstwhile Prime Minister, India dated, the 8th December, 1990 as the Opposition Leader and President INC alongwith the copies of my letter dated, the 19th November, 1990 to him including the letter dated, the 17th November, 1990 to Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister with its enclosure the said Telecommunication dated, Jalpaiguri, the 11th MAY, 1990 and the copy of letter dated, 16th MAY, 1988 No.4/31/88 FF - (P) from Ministry of Home Affairs for your kind perusal. And, this apart I am also sending you the copies of letters dated: 9 June and 28 JULY 1990 I have had the cause obvious to write to say respectively to Shri I. K. Guzral, former External Minister, India and to Shri V.P. Singh, Prime Minister, India obviously to you to have the Reply proper regarding the said "fake ashes" and the "enhancement of pension to freedom fighters" which when would have come forth with from late Shri Rajib Gandhi and his Council of Ministers concerned.

Unfortunately, till date no one save and except Shrimati Mamata Banerjee, MIS Youth Affairs & Sports and Women & Child Development, India reply proper and a perfunctory reply from Shri Sharad Pawar, Defence Minister, India which are at hand no response from Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, India his cabinet colleague Shri S.B. Chavan, Home Minister are forth coming. Alike their predecessors they are becoming the same sad "Politician" and hold no "Respect" for the Freedom Fighters and, perhaps the Present Prime Minister and the Home Minister are prone to frank-pled. And, as such, we the veteran freedom fighters are very much perturbed and sincerely do hope that the present regime under the Premiership of Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao do not be the victim of the "hung-parliament" and "hung-economy" by their act of non-governance & mis-governance of his predecessors.

Your Reply would be appreciated very much in the context of grave prognosis in the matter of keeping silent of the fundamental questions that are begging answer from the Political Executives of this Government by all or any freedom fighters underwent truthfully and suffered for the cause of Independence at this fag-end of their life.

With all the good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Encl. As stated.

cc to:

S. Sanyal.
S. SANYAL.

18/9/91.

R/C.

24

RAJIV GANDHI
10 Janpath, New Delhi-110011

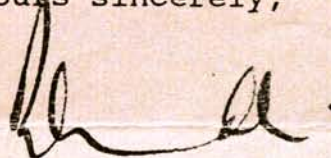
December 08, 1990

Dear Shri Sanyal,

Thank you for your letter dated November 19, 1990 and for the enclosed copy of your letter addressed to the Prime Minister.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,



Shri Sankar Sanyal
Temple Street
Jalpaiguri - 735 101

As stated in the letter dated, Jalpaiguri, September 18, 1991 this copy is being sent to Shri Madhavasini Solanki, External Affairs' Minister, India, South Block, New Delhi - 110 011 alongside the copies of letter dated, Jalpaiguri, the 19th November, 1990 with its enclosures mentioned in it.

S. Sanyal.
S. SANYAL. 18. 09. 1991.

25
19 NOVEMBER 1990.

Dear Shri Gandhi,

In pursuance of letter dated, the 18th October, 1990 enclosed herewith, please find, copy of letter dated, the 17th November, 1990 I have had to write to say to Shri Chandra Shekhar, Prime Minister, India for your kind perusal.

Besides, the affairs relating to the "fake ashes" of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose kept at Renkoji Temple in Tokyo, Japan, the implementation of Rs.1000/- per month the pension to Freedom Fighters which was to be provided with to them and which had been "recommended" by your colleague under tenure of Office are being pointed out in the above said letter to the present Prime Minister of India obviously.

On 10th August, 1990 a Memorandum has been submitted to Shri R. Venketaraman, President and to Shri Shankar Dayal Sharma, Vice-President, India respectively regarding the said pension of Rs.1000/- per month to the Freedom Fighters, among others; and the petition dated, the 16th October, 1990 addressed to the former Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh has been sent to you as the Opposition Leader and the President of the Indian National Congress. But, unfortunately, the said pension has not yet been implemented. Thus, the Freedom Fighters would be happy if you kindly take the "action" proper and see to it that without least delay this One Thousand Pension be provided with by the Present Regime undersaid Shri Chandra Shekhar, Prime Minister, India which the Indian National Congress is being supported with and of which I am the President. And, it is needless to add more than what the above stated Memorandum and the Petition and the very Correspondences of ours spelt out oft-repeatedly.

Hope, your quick-intelligence would understand the importance of this valid reasons of implementing the pension of Rs.1000/- pm forth with to the Freedom Fighters of all categories at this critical juncture - the Country and the People are conformed with.

With all the good wishes,

Encl. As stated.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/--

S. SANYAL.

Shri Rajib Gandhi, M.P.,
President, Indian National Congress,
10, Janpath, NEW DELHI - 110 011.

As stated in the letter dated, Jalpaiguri, the 18th September, 1991 this copy is being sent to Shri Madhavasini Solanki, External Affairs' Minister, India, South Block, New Delhi - 110 011 also the photocopy of letter dated: DECEMBER 08, 1990 of Late Shri Rajib Gandhi as stated.

S. Sanyal
S. SANYAL, 13. 09. 1991.

26
17 NOVEMBER 1990.

Shri Chandra Shekhar,
Prime Minister, India,
South Block,
New Delhi - 110 011.

Dear Prime Minister,

re: "Nothing succeed like success."

A veteran freedom fighter I would like to convey our Congratulation in the context of your becoming the Prime Minister of India at this critical juncture and wish you success to solve the burning problems confronting the people and the country to your best abilities.

Among the problems herein I would bring to your kind notice the fact that the freedom fighters are not being treated with that much adoration the government should be so in their behaviour patterns of late. Rather their causes are being belittled, and, it must not be so. Because, government is not an abstruse term. And, in your tenure of Office you must see to it that their genuine grievances are mitigated. As such, herewith I am sending for your kind perusal a copy of a letter dated, New Delhi-3, the 16th MAY 1988 from the GOI apropos of the "enhancement of pension to freedom fighters" and that of the "Fake Ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose kept at Renkoji Temple at Tokyo, Japan" which is again being attempted to in bringing in India by the interested few" and the very Telecommunication dated, Jalpaiguri, the 11th MAY 1990 I have had the cause obvious to address your predecessor and the External Affairs Minister, India jointly.

In reference with the said telecommunication they were not responsive sofar it concerns in providing us with the Reply. And, as regard the said "Enhancement of pension to freedom fighters from Rs.750/- to Rupees ONE THOUSAND Per Month" which were under 'active consideration' of the Government has not been implemented by Shri V.P. Singh, the former Prime Minister. So, with all the earnestness we would be looking forward your kind Action in this respect at your earliest simultaneously with such "burning problems" awaiting close and truth consciousness to Solve.

My acquaintantance with Acharya Naren Dev since 1939 and with Lt. Ashok Mehta among somany others were happy and fruitful; and as the former Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission: Ashok Mehta's correspondences are still with me. And, as an Anusilan Member - and the veteran freedom fighter in the cause of Independence Struggle against die-hard British Imperialism my fervent request to you the present Prime Minister would be to be so truthful to the freedom fighters of all age and time and, in the meantime, with all the good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

S. SANYAL.

Encl. As stated.

As stated in the letter dated, Jalpaiguri, the 18th September, 1991 this copy is being sent to Shri Madhavasini Solanki, External Affairs' Minister, India, South Block, New Delhi - 110 011 also the photocopy of letter dated: DECEMBER 08, 1990 of Late Shri Rajib Gandhi as stated.

S. Sanyal
S. SANYAL. 18. 09. 1991.

Copy of telecommunication dated, Jalpaiguri, 11 MAY, 1990 addressed to:

1. PRIME MINISTER VP SINGH T.F. 3017560 NEWDELHI
2. MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IK GUZRAL T.F. 3014070 NEWDELHI

reads:

= REQUESTING FERVENTLY NOT TO INDULGE IN BRINGING DOWN FROM RENKOJI TEMPLE TOKYO JAPAN FAKE ASHES OF NETAJI SUBHAS BOSE STOP THIS HAS HAD ITS REFERENCE TO LETTER NUMBER 4/31/88 - FF (P) FROM GOI MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS DATED 16 MAY 1988 STOP A VETERAN FREEDOM FIGHTER HAS HAD THE REASOND OBVIOUS SOASTO GOI MUST NOT BE A PARTY SUCH NEFARIOUS AND SUCH DISGRACEFUL ACT DE NOVO = SANKAR SANYAL

.....

Copy of letter dated: 16 MAY 1988 No.4/1/88 - FF (P) Government of India Ministry of Home Affairs, Lok Nayek Bhavan, New Delhi - 110 003

reads:

To

Shri Sankar Sanyal,
L/3 - Moore Avenue,
Govt. Housing Estate,
Calcutta - 700 040

Lok Nayek Bhavan,
New Delhi-110 003.

Dated the 16.5.88

16 MAY 1988

Subject :- Swatantrata Sainik Samman Pension Scheme.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letters dated 11.8.87 & 11.9.87 received through P.M.'s office on the subject mentioned above and to say that the matter of enhancement of pension is under consideration. The matter of bringing ashes of Netaji from Tokyo concerns Ministry of External Affairs to whom these papers are being forwarded for necessary action.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/---

(H. S. GARA)

UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVT OF INDIA

As stated in the letter dated, Jalpaiguri, the 18 September, 1991 this copy is being sent to Shri Madhavasini Solanki, External Affairs' Minister, India, South Block, New Delhi - 110 011 also the photocopy of letter dated: DECEMBER 08, 1990 of Late Shri Rajib G dhi as stated.

S. Sanyal
S. SANYAL. 18. 09. 1991.

Immediate
Reminder.

(28)

9 JUNE, 1990.

Dear Shri Guzral,

re: Fake ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose
kept at Renkoji Temple in Tokyo, JAPAN -
Telegram dated, Jalpaiguri, the 11th MAY,
1990 and letter dated, the 14th MAY, 1990.

Surprisingly your reply in relation of above stated correspondences is absent conspicuously till date. It is most unfortunate.

Prompt reply to my correspondences were the result when your the then Minister of Information & Broadcasting (State) India, and in respect of my correspondences with you as the then Ambassador of India at Moscow in USSR - concerning the establishment of Phyto-Chemical Projects in and around the Tea Gardens in Duars and Terai in West Bengal, were also prompt and inmost effective.

Hard time is ahead and, I would again request you fervently not to be a party to any such under any pretext, in bringing down in Indian soil the said fake ashes. Rather such attempts must not be indulged in by the Government of India any more.

Reply awaited at the back of this and, in the meantime,
with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sdy
S. SANYAL.

Shri I. K. Guzral,
External Affairs' Minister,
Government of India,
NEW DELHI - 110011.

As stated in the letter dated, Jalpaiguri
18th September, 1991 this copy is being sent to Shri Madhavji
External Affairs' Minister, India, South Block, New Delhi -

S. Sanyal
S. SANYAL. 18. 09. 1991.

28 JULY 1990

Dear Shri Singh,

Re: Value oriented politics instead of the expediency approach of bringing down to Indian soil Fake Ashes of Netaji Subhas Ch. Bose; and general statements of yours before News Agency and that of External Affairs Minister: I.K. Gujral before leaving for the USSR in Parliament, but keeping silent in the context of my Telegrams of MAY 11, 1990 and following letters to you and to Shri Gujral.

In reference with above, enclosed herewith, please find, copy of my letter dt., Jalpaiguri, the 20th July, 1990 I have written to Shri R. Venkataraman, President, India for your kind perusal.

Your keeping silent over above stated Telegram followed by letters and making statement only before "mass medias" is prone to political expediency. And a veteran freedom fighter in the cause of National struggle for Independence against the hard British Imperialism, not only myself but all other truthfull people would appreciate your Value Oriented politics. I am sorry to observe this hard reality in the absence of your Reply. And it would be anybody's guess why External Affairs Minister Shri I.K. Gujral made suddenly in the floor of the Parliament re: the said bringing about "Fake Ashes" of Netaji Subhas Ch. Bose kept at Renkeji Temple in Tokyo, Japan, before "going to the USSR" and, perhaps with a view to the ensuing "Visit" of Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, President of the Soviet Union and Secretary General CPSU to JAPAN. Is it only to exonerate the USSR from such "Blame" advocated by "some" re: Netaji Subhas's "presence" at Soviet Union? Whence, it should be noted that after some "words" intimated to Shri R. Venkataraman, President, India by Prof Samar Guha, Ex-M.P., the President himself, ventured, perhaps to visit outer Mongolia in quest of true truth regarding Netaji's presence, when it is not as a fact as much as it was not a fact that ~~Sadhu of Salmari was Netaji Subhas~~ the "fact" for which ~~while~~ Prime Minister of India Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri as the then Home Minister, India came here Alipurduar to ascertain the "true facts" re: Netaji Subhas and this fool of a man, I told him categorically that "Sadhu of Salmari", is not Netaji Subhas Bose at all. But, all these and heaven too did not make this statement by the Government of India that Netaji Subhas Ch. Bose had never died at Taiaku Air Crash till date.

Whatever might be the positive idea regarding Netaji Subhas Bose since the days of late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, the Govt. should now spell out the truth about the very plane crash at Taiaku Air field and the death of Netaji which has never happened and then and then only a through-going 'fool proof' enquiry regarding the said 'Fake Ashes' kept at Renkeji Temple (and which have in recent time devastated by fire) at Tokyo in JAPAN. This kind of VALUE ORIENTED politics should be 'worked out' by you the present prime minister, India and, then you shall really enjoy the premiership and would be able to come out of the successive crisis facing you and the Govt. day-in-day-out in the context of vying with each other for mere power, position and fame, leaving aside the real politics involving with rampant corruptions, spiral rising of daily necessities of life etc.

However, I would be looking forward with interest your reply of my above stated telegram dated, Jalpaiguri, the 11th MAY, 1990 at the back of this and in the context of letters to you and to Shri I.K. Gujral External Affairs Minister, India followed the said telecommunications.

I am now old and infirm and recently suffered extensive Myocardial infraction (heart attack) besides, the T.B. (since imprisonment under British Rule as also in abscundance period) paralysis in lower limbs besides other ailments and awaiting death at any time, whence, it should be noted that the very politics of expediency which our Chief Minister, Shri Jayti Banu, West Bengal (who had spelt out categorically that the politics of the undivided CPI had the cause to entertain against Netaji Subhas Ch. Bose, was all together ~~risen~~) is following has not

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sanctioned us the very pension (enhanced) of Rs. 300/- per month from the State's exchequer - which when are the cases with almost all the States in Indian Union, have not been sanctioned till date. And so it has been the behaviour pattern with Dr. Ashim Das Gupta, Finance & Development Minister, West Bengal his camp follower. We the veteran freedom fighters who are undoubtedly the constant and enduring friends of this left front Govt. are too much unhappy and resentful about the very attitude of Shri Jyoti Basu, Chief Minister, West Bengal. And it is on this context our demand of making it per with the political sufferers pension to Freedom Fighters from the Central Revenue of Rs. 1000/- per month instead of Rs. 750/- p.m. which are now being enjoyed to survive in these hard day and the very Life Style of a few affluent a people. But, alas, you are keeping silent on this count too.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

sd S. Sanyal

Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh
Prime Minister, India,
South Block, New Delhi - 110011.

cc to: Shri Jyoti Basu, Chief Minister, West Bengal

As stated in the letter dated: 14 AUGUST 1990
this copy is being sent to Shri R. Venkataravan, President of India,
Rastropati Bhavan, NEW DELHI - 110 004 and to:

Shri Shankar Dayal Sharma, Vice-President, India, New Delhi; Shri
Indrajit Kumar Guzral, External Affairs Minister, India, New Delhi;
Prof. Nural Islam, Governor, West Bengal, Raj Bhavan, Calcutta and
to some Friends here in India and Abroad, among Others.

sd. S. Sanyal.

As stated in the letter dated, Ja'paiguri, the
18th September, 1991 this copy is being sent to Shri Madhavsini Solnki,
External Affairs' Minister, India, South Block, New Delhi - 110 011.

S. Sanyal
S. SANYAL. 18. 09. 1991.

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Phone: 3782260

CHITTA BASU
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



28, Gurudwara Rakabganj,
Road, New Delhi-110001.

11.2.92

Handed
forwarded to a
draft reply
Dear Prime Minister.

8x711/10/91 &
8x711/10/90 ST

This is to request you to kindly examine the aide-memoire and supporting documents being submitted herewith on the subject of Netaji's Subas Chandra Bose's alleged but still unestablished death following a plane crash and take action through appropriate government agencies to unravel this mystery once and for all.

As you are aware, we, as a party, have over the past 46 years been demanding a conclusive probe into the above matter, particularly in view of the fact that the last officially stated position of the Government of India is a statement made in the Lok Sabha in 1978 by the then Prime Minister, Morarjee Desai, wherein he rejected the findings of the 1956 Shah Nawaz Committee and the 1974 Khosla Commission, both of which had decreed that Netaji died as a result of the air tragedy.

By virtue of British government records and other records, relating to the post-August 1945 period becoming public consequent to the two mentioned government ordered inquiries, more materials have emerged to question the report of Netaji's demise at Taihoku in 1945. A greater amount can be obtained from British, American, Japanese, Russian and Taiwanese sources and perhaps from our own files pertaining to the Nehru period. In view of the altered situation in Moscow, it may now be much easier to gain access to records there, which, according to Russian academics, do exist in the concerned archives.

The papers being placed before you will, we hope, convince you of the urgent need to unravel the mystery. Shri V.P. Singh, when Prime Minister, had, following a meeting with our party leaders, asked the External Affairs Ministry to collect the available material from overseas. This effort could, however, not be completed during the National Front government's tenure in office.

This is, therefore, to request you to kindly revive the matter and persue it further to unravel the mystery.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(CHITTA BASU)

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Hon'ble Prime Minister,
Govt. of India,
New Delhi.

May kindly see.
This has been
dealt with earlier
on the MEA side.
Dig (AP)
17/4/92

To-day
M. Chatterjee
Ms. 14/4/92
we have no
pos on this issue
14/2
2/12
6436/11/14/92
14/2

2218-Rel
14/2

1 P.H.S.
BY
DATE
17240-VIP
MP